

# THE MAN THE OHIO DEMOCRATS WANT FOR PRESIDENT.



"Please be seated."



"I am not a candidate for the nomination."



"The man named by the Chicago convention must accept."



"The dollar coined of silver should be equal in intrinsic value to the dollar coined of gold."



"I trust you understand me fully."

## OHIO'S GREAT SONS MAY BATTLE

Ex-Governor James E. Campbell, It Is Now Claimed, Can Defeat McKinley in the Buckeye State.

He Declares That He Is Not a Candidate, but Holds That the Man Who Is Named at Chicago Must Accept.

Bi-Metallism That Will Make the Silver Dollar Equal in Intrinsic Value to the Gold One Is His Financial Faith.

VETO POWER IS NOT MEANT TO MAKE THE PRESIDENT AN AUTOCRAT.

Only Intended as a Check to Hasty Legislation—Of the Monroe Doctrine He Says That to Uphold It This Country "Should Sternly Go to the Expenditure of Its Last Dollar, Its Last Cartridge, Its Last Gun, and Its Last Man."

Hamilton, Ohio, May 6.—Campbell's name will go before the Chicago Convention for the Presidency. His admirers in Ohio will submit to no less, and while the ex-Governor will not in any fashion strive for a nomination, he will not refuse one if it is tendered.

Ohio as the Spring ripens is equally ablaze with politics and dandelions. Referring purely to the first and choosing as the subject of one's story the Democratic side, one hears of nothing but ex-Governor James E. Campbell and a general party determination to present his name and fight for his nomination for President at the Chicago Convention.

In many a mouth at other times, and in other States than this, the phrase, "Favorite Son" has sounded hollow as a drum. It meant nothing beyond the vaguest clasp-trap of politics. This is not true, however, of Ohio, or of Campbell. Where two Democrats are gathered together they talk of Campbell, and the upshot of their discussion is ever the same. His name must go before the convention, and victory must be brought about. To these proposals Buckeye Democracy pledges itself as a unit, and men who disagree on every other tenet of party faith stand shoulder to shoulder for Campbell. The gold bug Democrat and the silver bug Democrat and the bug under the Democratic financial chip, all call for Campbell as the man of men who can send the standards of party war the nearest to final victory.

**The Man to Carry Ohio.**  
"Campbell is the man," said an eminent local gentleman of the faith. His name was Foster. "Campbell is the man. He has gone to Congress three times from his district in the very hey-day of Republican power here. He was elected Governor of the State when no other Democrat could have gotten in sight of the State House. When he was defeated by McKinley he made that eminent apostle of a repudiated tariff run 9,000 votes behind his ticket, and last year, when against his will he was put forward to lead a forlorn hope to certain overthrow, he made the pace so brisk that the Republican majority of the year before was cut over 45,000 votes. Campbell is the man the Democracy needs in this year of '96, and we intend to take his name with us to Chicago in June and bring his nomination back. It looks now as if the Republicans would name McKinley. When they do, give us Campbell, and we'll take the State of Ohio away from them."

As Foster talks so say all the rest, and ex-Governor Campbell burns the brighter with every added splinter of evidence that

McKinley will carry the eagles of Republicanism into the wars of the Autumn. They all want Campbell, save Campbell himself, from Brice and McLean down, down, down, to the last horse-boy of the Ohio Democracy.

**Buckeye Men for Harmony.**  
Speaking of Brice and McLean; while these two celebrated Democrats esteem each other but frigidly, there is strong chance, as the word now goes about, of both being delegates-at-large to the Chicago Convention. This will be meant, as much as might be, to speak for party harmony and the need of party peace. Brice is for gold, McLean for silver, and it is much to be looked for that the delegates will be evenly divided on the question of finance.

The delegation will be as one man, however, for Campbell and for Democratic harmony. There will be no gold bolt, no silver bolt at Chicago, if the Ohio delegation can control convention history. These Buckeyes are the more earnest in this olive-branch pose, for that they lean to the theory that with McKinley named by the foe—they have his weak spots by heart—it will disorganize the Republicans, especially in the Eastern-North, and that an unbroken Democracy can defeat him.

So impressed was I with the Ohio anxiety to name Campbell, that I managed a pilgrimage to the ex-Governor's habitation at Hamilton, this State, to learn what he himself might deem of the undeniable uprising in his favor. I put in perhaps a half day at Campbell's home, and during that space some dozen of the chiefs of the Ohio Democracy from as many separate sections of the State called on him to urge the party's right to take his name to Chicago. It was at once admirable and touching to witness the implicit faith and loyalty of these visitors to Campbell. It was as if another Argyle held his clan court at another Inverary, and the chiefs of his tribe were coming about him. It all spoke of the power of this man and the depths to which the roots of his popularity have thrust themselves.

**Says What He Thinks.**  
There was no trouble in obtaining an interview with Campbell. His bent is to be frank; he has the courage of his beliefs; he does his own thinking; he thinks nothing he will not say; he has charge of his own convictions; and last, and most excellent of all, Campbell is not, like McKinley, one of those mute foxes of politics who, with furtive eye averted, and drooping brush, hopes to skulk into a White House; sink into a Presidential chair, as it were, by some side door of silence, and bring down a convention nomination by that tip-toe method which robes a head-nod. Campbell is one of the few of politics who will freely answer a ques-



JAMES E. CAMPBELL, EX-GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

He is now looked on by the Democrats of his State as the one man who can lead his party to victory next November. It is claimed by them that should McKinley be nominated by the Republicans, the Democrats, with Campbell to lead, can capture the Buckeye State. The ex-Governor says he would not refuse to run in case he should be named at Chicago, and explains that he is in favor of only that financial legislation which will make the silver dollar the intrinsic equal of the gold one.

tion which the time and conditions make pertinent.

**Has No Right to Decline.**  
"There is a story in the East, Governor," I said, "rather a rumor, perhaps, than a story, that you have consented to become a candidate for the Presidency and permit the use of your name at the Chicago Convention in that behalf. I wanted to ask as to the truth of this."

"It is not true," replied Governor Campbell. "I am not a candidate for the nomination for the Presidency, and have not consented to the use of my name at Chicago. I am not a candidate at all; have no plans or hopes—I might better say fears—in that connection. I do not expect to be even a delegate to the convention, and my business arrangements are such that I much apprehend I will not be in Chicago at the time the convention meets."

**Will Stand by His Party.**

"There is one thing, however, in connection with this subject of the coming Democratic Convention, its platform and its nominee which is possibly germane to your query, and upon which I am perfectly clear and absolutely resolved. Whoever it may nominate and whatever its platform and declarations, I shall stand by both. The man who, calling himself a Democrat, bolts either, need never call himself my friend."

"Returning again to this subject of a Presidential nomination, Governor," I said, "without wishing to seem pertinacious, I must still ask you whether, if the convention were to select you to lead the ticket, were to name you for the Presidency on its own responsibility, would you make the race—would you accept?"

"The difficulty," responded Governor Campbell, "in replying to your question lies in the danger of common frankness and honesty being misconstrued. If I were

diplomatic or wisely evasive at this crisis I might reply that there is slight danger of such a contingency."

**Has No Right to Decline.**

"That would hardly answer the question, however," I urged, "and without pausing to debate the probability of such a course—which, by the way, is much more widely talked than would seem to have reached your ears—I still ask, what course would you pursue should the convention name you? Would you decline?"

"No," replied Governor Campbell, "I would not decline, because I could not. It does not lie in the power nor the right of a man to decline such a call. Whether he be a Democrat, Republican or what not, he must make the race and accept the place if his party in solemn convention selects him so to do. The man named by the Chicago Convention must accept. There is no chance to escape if he would. He should not embrace it, if there were. Such a call is a command, not a request; and no man may disobey his party's voice."

"It is easy," continued Governor Campbell, "for one to say he will not take a nomination. Hill said he wouldn't make the race for Governor of New York two years ago. Hill meant it, too, with all his heart. But the party named him, and he had to run. Incidentally I might add, that while I admired him before, I've loved him ever since. A more gallant fight against sure defeat than Hill made in his last campaign in New York was never made by man."

**His Duty Called Him.**

"Hill's experience was parallel with my own in my late run for Governor of this State. I did not want to be a candidate. Moreover, I had said I would not, and that were I named I would decline to run. More

than all, I had promised Mrs. Campbell I wouldn't consent to run or take the nomination under any conditions. The fact is I was never more resolved on anything in my career. Yet I was named, and I had to accept. It was no case of permission or consent or agreement on my part; the convention named me for the contest and I had to make. I had no election in the matter."

"And," concluded Governor Campbell, "what was true of Hill's State Convention and my own, is equally true of the National Convention coming on. The candidate it selects cannot decline the trust. No man in the history of parties has ever declined such a nomination; no man ever will. That chance is closed. Or, more correctly, the chance to decline never existed; never will exist. The man named at Chicago will run."

**A Split Means Destruction.**

"On this all-absorbing, and much fought-over question of finance," I said, "what, Governor, should be the party's position?"

"It is not for me," replied Governor Campbell, "to dictate platforms to the Democratic party, or programme its work for the next convention, or point the imperative way. Still less am I inclined to do so, when, as I have already told you, whatever it declares for, that will I uphold; whoever it names on its ticket, him will I uphold with my whole heart. I give myself utterly and in advance to the support of the ticket and the platform of the Chicago Convention, and I do so because I feel that a party split at this time means party destruction. I am not willing to see a grand party give up its life by suicide; a self-destruction brought about, too, by a question which is rather one of region and geography, than of politics, and which will

settle itself and drift aside in the next handful of years. At all hazards and at all costs, I would avoid a split at Chicago. And should one occur, whether it be the gold men who bolt, or the silver men who bolt, I trust and hope the bolters may never in their lives witness the success of the principle they strive for. May disappointment and defeat feed on them and their political efforts to the last day of their lives. They will have destroyed the Democracy, and the youngest child now alive will never see a Democratic ticket in the field again. The party, should a bolt befall at Chicago, will die and it will never have a resurrection."

**On the Silver Question.**

"Letting discussion and party platform go, however," continued Governor Campbell, "I make no hesitation in telling you what I personally hold to on that point. I'm not a gold mono-metallist. And I'm not for free silver 13 to 1, and have it at a swoop, as many of our free silver friends declare must be the case. This latter would mean silver mono-metallism, and I'm no more in favor of that than of the single gold standard. What I believe in is bimetallism under conditions which make the dollar coined of silver equal in intrinsic value to the dollar coined of gold. The conditions I speak of would exist were international agreement arrived at to that end, and I believe an international bimetallic agreement could be made."

"On that point let this country, instead of setting humbly by for Europe to take the lead, take the first step herself. Instead of waiting for Germany, for France, for England to make the call for a monetary convention of nations to bring about bimetalism, let the United States make the call. If all will not agree to bimetalism, agree with those who will; if none will agree let the United States go it alone, and then take measures to force the recalcitrants to agree."

"The United States, even if every European nation refused bimetalism, could at last force their acquiescence. We are in the foolish habit of feeling nationally too weak; too inconsequential. As a matter of truth we are the strongest of the whole world's household of nations. Commercially we are overpowered and overruled any one of them. We are each nation's best customer. We can compel them rather than they us."

**Our Power Abroad.**

"This exemplification in our recent squabble with England over Venezuela, England came down from her high Venezuelan horse, and has been tamely on foot ever since. Why? Because we're the best customer she has. She can't afford to lose us. We are equally France's best buyer, and that power over the European nations can be invoked to bring about bimetalism. It would not be by threats of war, of course, but in its fashion a war of commerce could be invoked. The principle of reciprocity could be utilized, and an arrangement on our side to do commercially the best by those nations which did the best by us would bring international bimetalism or any other condition which we might honestly demand."

"That would be an open way to return to a bimetalism where every dollar would be worth a dollar. It would solve, too, our present ills of finance, and be similar in method to coming down a fire-escape to avoid the conflagration, rather than hurrying oneself from the window to break one's neck with the fall, as would seem to be the recommendation of the utter free silverites."

"Remain and burn," say the gold mono-metallists.

"Dash yourself from the window to the ground below," say the 13 to 1 free silverites.

"Take the fire-escape of international bimetalism," strikes me as the wise course, and I believe this country can force its international coming about."

**Evils of a Gold Standard.**

"There is this, however," continued Governor Campbell, "which may with justice be said of silver: If Treasury officials had observed the law and paid 'coin'—silver and gold—when the bond clique were depleting the gold reserve to force a bond issue for them to fatten on, we would have saved the three issues of bonds made during this Administration, and the public debt would now be smaller by some \$240,000,000. It was sticking to a gold standard and refusing to pay silver when it should have been paid under the law, which made these bond issues imperative."

"Why Carlisle should have turned his back on plain law and taken the course he did I don't pretend to say. He had not only the law but precedent to encourage him in another course. What was done is the more remarkable when we reflect that the same entire body of bond hunters attempted to bleed the gold reserve and force a bond issue when Manning was Secretary of the

Treasury, during Cleveland's first term, and Manning defeated them. Manning stood solemnly by the law like a soldier to his gun and beat them off. There was no bond issue with Manning. There had been none with Carlisle if he had done as Manning did—enforced the law. It was in the Summer of 1885, I believe, when the bond clique came after Manning. They began to drain his gold just as they later drained Carlisle's."

**Manning's Firm Stand.**

"Manning watched their proceedings a bit and then sent them all word to meet him in New York on a day he named. Manning was there, the bond clique was there—every member—the same men, too, many of them, who later bought bonds of Carlisle. I can quote you Manning's exact words, for a stenographer was present to take them down, and I have a copy of them here. At one crisis in the discussion Manning said:

"Gentlemen: The Treasury is willing to furnish gold for any legitimate demand, but if you attempt to draw upon the Treasury gold after today as you are now doing, for bonding or speculation, I shall adopt an effective remedy for the protection of the Government's reserve. We have a cash balance of over \$150,000,000. Not one of you doubts for a moment the ability and purpose of the Government to maintain specie payment. But if you continue to 'draw gold I shall at once order that you be paid 10 per cent in silver on the first day, the second day you will be paid 20 per cent in silver, and the third day 30 per cent, and so on until one-half is paid you in silver."

"But," exclaimed a banker, "this is in violation of the implied obligation that the Government will pay in gold."

"Make no mistake about that, gentlemen," replied Manning, "the law says 'coin,' and the Treasury will exercise its undoubted prerogative."

"Comment on Manning's stand is unnecessary. It spoke him the honest and the fearless man he was. Silver law and Manning saved the day. No bonds were issued, the gold reserve was protected, the bond clique baffled and the country saved from its bleeding."

**Real Purpose of the Veto.**

"Why Carlisle did not observe Manning's example might better be left for him to explain. He didn't, and his failure has made a bond clique two score millions richer and the Nation two hundred and forty millions poorer. We hadn't struck so closely to silver and had gotten little closer to silver and the statute law of the land during the last three years we would have been public enemies of bimetalism dollars better off. That much may be said of silver and to the discredit of gold mono-metallism."

"There is a strong desire abroad to discuss the veto power of a President," I remarked. "Would you mind telling me what you regard as the proper scope of the veto?"

"My notion of the veto," said Governor Campbell, "is that it should be used as a member of the House during Cleveland's first term. I did not then, and do not now, regard the veto power as something conferred on the White House to aid in the moulding of legislation. The White House is not a law-making power, nor was the veto created by the Constitution to enable the President to control House and Senate in passing the laws. It was meant as a check to correct obvious mistakes and over-hasty legislation, and to act as a brake when some grave constitutional departure was attempted. It was not intended to permit the President to exercise a veto in the moulding of legislation. The veto is a power of pure tariff, finance, appropriations and those law-making functions which are purely executive in character. The mere fact that a President entertains economic views at variance with some bill passed by Congress does not authorize him to ing his own view than that of Congress to the measure. That was not the purpose for which the veto was invented, and to so use it is to pervert its proper function. The mere fact that a President entertains economic views at variance with some bill passed by Congress does not authorize him to ing his own view than that of Congress to the measure. That was not the purpose for which the veto was invented, and to so use it is to pervert its proper function."

**For the Monroe Doctrine.**

"What should be the nation's policy toward foreign nations?" I asked. "I noticed you spoke with a tone of strong approval of Cleveland's Venezuelan position."

"I do most heartily approve it," replied Governor Campbell. "I'm an adherent of the policy of Washington and the policy of Monroe. I believe in the Monroe Doctrine, and I believe this country can force its international coming about."